

Newspapers, networks cooperated with agency

Journalists' CIA aid exposed

By ABE WEISBURD

• Was that foreign news story in this morning's paper or on the evening television news really an "objective" account? Or was it invented or slanted by the CIA?

You can't be sure, according to a forthcoming article by Carl Bernstein in the Oct. 4 issue of Rolling Stone magazine.

Bernstein cites CIA documents and quotes agency sources as indicating that more than 400 U.S. journalists maintained close and regular contacts with the CIA during the past 25 years. "Even larger numbers of journalists" have had more casual relationships with the agency, exchanging information and trading favors with CIA operatives, Bernstein writes.

In addition, "the CIA maintained ties with 75 to 90 journalists last year," Bernstein notes. The Rolling Stone article likewise observes that CIA sources frequently refused to say whether or not reporters and other editorial employees and managers of U.S. media corporations are still working for the agency.

Bernstein, who along with Bob Woodward uncovered much of the Watergate scandal, adds: "The use of journalists has been among the most productive means of intelligence gathering employed by the CIA and continues today."

The New York Times, CBS News and Time Inc. are cited by Bernstein as among the CIA's most extensively utilized media partners.

The former Washington Post reporter also names the following news-gathering organizations as frequently used funnels for CIA assignments: the Associated Press, United Press International, ABC and NBC News, the Hearst newspapers, the Scripps-Howard chain, the Copley News Service, Reuters, Newsweek magazine, the Mutual Broadcasting System, the Miami Herald and the now-defunct Saturday Evening Post and New York Herald Tribune.

New York Times columnist C.L. Sulzberger, former Times publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, former CBS president William Paley, the late Henry Luce of Time, Inc., and the late Philip Graham, publisher of the Washington Post, are among the media executives whom Bernstein names as CIA collaborators.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities learned of many of these

CIA-media connections during its 1976 investigations, Bernstein reveals, but the committee acceded to CIA pressures and "deliberately misrepresented" the wide scope of agency-media undertakings.

EAGER PARTNERS

Some of the largest U.S. news corporations were not infiltrated by the CIA, Bernstein reports, but were instead eager partners and willing volunteers in helping the agency either plant reporters in the field or hire journalists already employed by the print or broadcast companies.

Top media officials often allowed their organizations to become "handmaidens to the intelligence service," Bernstein writes.

"Let's not pick on some poor reporters,

for God's sake," Bernstein quotes former CIA director William Colby as exclaiming during his Senate committee testimony. "Let's go to the managements. They were waiting."

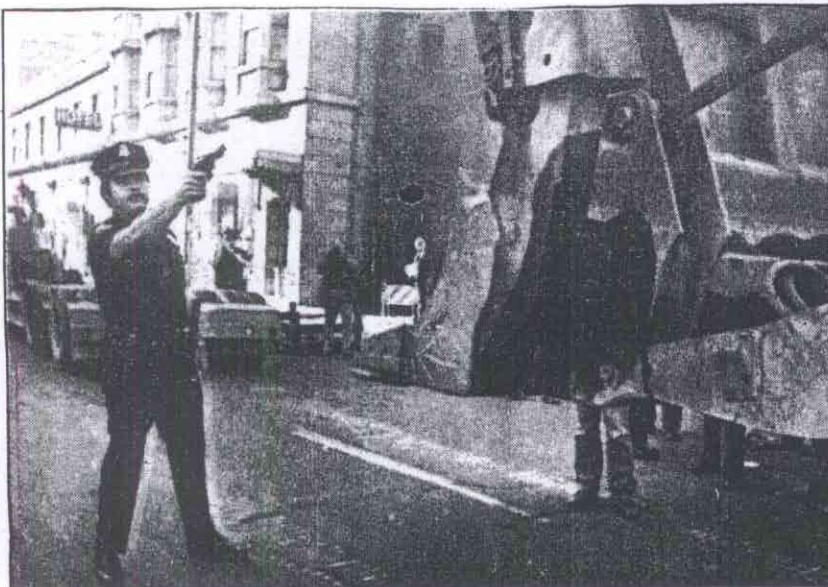
One of the most willing media potentates is C.L. Sulzberger, whose Times column is still featured prominently. Sulzberger "was very eager, he loved to cooperate," Bernstein quotes a CIA source as saying. "We gave Cy a background piece and Cy gave it to the printers and put his name on it," Bernstein's source added.

Sulzberger also apparently signed a secret agreement with the CIA in the 1950s. He told Bernstein he couldn't really remember if he had contracted with the agency—"I don't know, 20 some years is a long time," he said.

"I'm sure they [the CIA] consider me an asset," Sulzberger conceded. "They can ask me questions." Sulzberger notes that his uncle, the late Times publisher, definitely did sign a secret agreement with the CIA. Some 200 U.S. media personnel signed such pacts with the agency during the last two decades, Bernstein adds.

ALSO AN AGENT

Stewart Alsop, whose columns were carried by the New York Herald Tribune, Saturday Evening Post and Newsweek, enjoyed an even cozier relationship with the



The fight over San Francisco's International Hotel continues as the city blocks demolition of the hotel until court cases surrounding it are settled. Above, cop tells bulldozer operator hired by building owner, 'Move that thing and I'll blow your head off' as he enforces court order Sept. 8.

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intelligence network, Bernstein states. The late columnist "was a CIA agent," one source told Bernstein flatly.

Joseph Alsop, Stewart's brother and himself a prominent commentator, disputes the charge. "I was closer to the agency than Stew was, though Stew was very close," Alsop relates. "I daresay he did perform some tasks—he just did the correct thing as an American....The founding fathers [of the CIA] were close personal friends of ours."

Joseph Alsop traveled to the Philippines in 1953 at the request of the CIA, Bernstein explains. He went there not to cover a story but rather with the primary purpose of helping defeat leftist candidates, the Rolling Stone article asserts.

"I'm proud they asked me and proud to have done it," Alsop now declares.

This kind of "participatory journalism"

was also practiced in Chile in the 1960s, Bernstein adds. A number of U.S. journalists assigned there assisted the CIA in its efforts to disrupt and defeat the electoral campaign then being waged by Salvador Allende. Much of the wire service copy emanating from Chile during this period contained CIA "black propaganda" (untrue assertions and fabricated reports), Bernstein discloses.

Intelligence officials desperately—and successfully—tried to prevent the Senate committee from revealing links such as these, the Rolling Stone report emphasizes. As one high-level CIA source explained to Bernstein: "The journalist is worth 20 agents. He [sic] has access, the ability to ask questions without arousing suspicions. Business is nice," the source noted in assessing areas of cooperation, "but the press is a natural."

Agency files are filled with documented accounts of journalists' work for the CIA, Bernstein continues. Jerry O'Leary, who still writes for the Washington Star, and Hal Hendrix, formerly a reporter for the Miami News and now a top executive for ITT, were especially valued for their contacts in Latin America, particularly in Haiti and the Dominican Republic in O'Leary's case.

"There is quite an incredible spread of relationships" between "respected" media corporations and the CIA, Bernstein quotes a Senate committee investigator as telling the senators. "You don't need to manipulate Time magazine, for example, because there are agency people at management level," the investigator reportedly said after reviewing CIA files.

Bernstein also notes that the agency sought to develop ties to some of the most prominent names in U.S. journalism. In many cases it succeeded, he writes, noting that the CIA partially based its reluctance to reveal the identities of its media contacts on the grounds that hundreds of journalistic reputations would be ruined by the disclosures.

"Within the CIA," Bernstein reports, "journalist-operatives were accorded an elite status, a consequence of the common experience journalists shared with high-level CIA officials. Many had gone to the same schools as their CIA handlers, moved in the same circles, shared fashionably liberal, anticommunist political values, and were part of the same 'old boy' network that constituted something of an establishment elite in the media, politics and academia of postwar America."

At another point in the article, Bernstein writes of the pervasive relationships that flourished between the media and the CIA in the 1950s. "American publishers," he notes, "like so many other corporate and institutional leaders at the time, were willing to commit the resources of their companies to the struggle against 'global communism.'"

OTHER REVELATIONS

Among the other revelations contained in the 15,000-word article are:

- CBS News supplied regular cover for CIA employees, permitting the agency to review outtakes from its newscast and to monitor communications between its reporters and their editors.

- CBS News President Richard Salant served in 1964-65 on a secret CIA task force, along with Zbigniew Brzezinski (now National Security Adviser), which planned propaganda broadcasts to the People's Republic of China.

- ABC and NBC provided cover for CIA agents with the knowledge and cooperation of the corporations' executives. CIA sources refused to say whether the agency has terminated its contacts with those organizations.

Bernstein also discusses the mechanics of a journalist's duties as a CIA operative. Reporters, photographers and other media personnel are seldom enlisted as "spies," Bernstein explains, but are instead used to help recruit foreign nationals who become channels for espionage information.

"The peculiar nature of the job of the foreign correspondent is ideal for such work," he writes. "He (sic) is accorded unusual access by his host country, permitted to travel in areas often off-limits to other Americans, spends much of his time cultivating sources in governments, academic institutions, the military establishment and the scientific communities."

These and similar revelations in recent years have prompted many nations to view U.S. journalists with suspicion or to bar them from reporting altogether. The U.S. media's claim of being objective and independent of government control is not taken seriously by many countries.

Aiding Defense Agencies:



CHARLES L. DANCEY

By WILLIAM PRATER

Associated Press Writer

While a reporter should not be in the pay of the government, it is his duty to aid defense agencies like the Central Intelligence Agency, the editor of The Journal Star said yesterday.

He also said he may be among 400 journalists Rolling Stone magazine says cooperated with the spy agencies in the 1950s.

"Good gracious!" Charles L. Dancey said in an editorial yesterday. "Could it be that I, too, am one of the Big Bad Cloak and Dagger Boys working for the CIA? By the rules of journalism used by Rolling Stone, could be!"

Dancey said in an interview he toured the Soviet Union alone in 1959, visiting, among other places, Moscow, Odessa, Yalta and Stalingrad. When he returned home, Dancey said, he was visited by a man who identified himself as with the CIA and "asked me some questions about the trip.

"I handed him my log book and told him he was welcome to read it. But all the material could be read in a fuller form in the articles published in The Journal Star. He thanked me, borrowed the little pad of memory notes, and some time later returned it to me.

"Big deal."

Dancey said, "I think the whole 'hoo-rah' among members of the press (about journalists cooperating with the spy agency) is not a moralistic question at all but one of practicality. We'd like to be able to announce to the world that you can trust us with anything."

The defense of the United States "is a life and death

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Duty Of A News Reporter, Dancey Says

question," he added. "We (newspeople) are citizens, not someone working in a vacuum."

If a reporter was paid by the government, "that would be a clear conflict of interest," Dancey said. But in questions of national defense, "I don't think we have the right to withhold evidence from authorities."

Little happened on his trip that would have interested the CIA, Dancey said, except that he was kept in isolation at an unscheduled stop in the Ural Mountains, where Francis Gary Powers was later shot down in his U-2 spy plane.

"I must cheerfully admit that if anything had happened which I perceived significant regarding the defense of the United States, I would certainly have told our government about it, via the CIA or whatever," Dancey said in the editorial. "I am not a citizen of the moon. This is my country."

Asked about cooperation with police and other domestic authorities, Dancey said: "I don't have any set philoso-

phy . . . about such dealings within the United States. . . Also, I don't think we should have to set standards (of conduct) for other people."

He said he visited the Soviet Union again in 1965, but was not questioned by the CIA then or later.

An extensive account of his travels in the Soviet Union was used in The Journal Star, and reprinted later in the year virtually intact in the Congressional Record at the request of U.S. Rep. Robert H. Michel, a Peoria Republican.